

ER 11-8987/a

State Dept. review completed

Cabot
Dear Henry:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I sent to Congressman Ray as a result of your letter of November 6. I appreciate your calling this matter to my attention.

* Did Khrushchev^H ever supply the documents which he mentioned in this now rather celebrated automobile ride?

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge
United States Representative to
the United Nations
Two Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

O/IG/LBKirkpatrick:rm (25 Nov 59)
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MORI/CDF Pages 36
thru 38.

*Handwritten P. S. I assume he did not as I have heard nothing from State about it. Don't bother to answer if reply is negative. AWD



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186

For Immediate Release

INFORMATION ON INDONESIA

Bulletin No.105

19 November 1959

C O N T E N T S

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2. Starvation in Asia May Be More Destructive than A-Bomb
3. President Sukarno and Advisory Council Agree on Political Manifesto
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8. Indonesian Overseas Chinese Act Counter to Principles of China
9. Government Denies Infiltrating Dutch-Occupied West Irian

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EXHIBIT 100-1000180010-3

-1-

PRESIDENT SUKARNO OPENS COLOMBO PLAN CONFERENCE

Addressing the opening of the ministerial level meetings of the Colombo Plan Conference at Jogjakarta on November 11, President Sukarno in his speech outlined Indonesia's requirements in the field of economic and technical aid conforming with the concept of "guided democracy". The President stressed that no scheme of pure economic development could be successful if it were not attuned to the country's "social, political and cultural pattern".

The President stated that traditionally and historically Indonesian society has been consciously one based on cooperation, and therefore, Indonesia valued the Colombo Plan for cooperative economic development. He also recalled that the minimum of organization and maximum of action of the Colombo Plan throughout its nine years of life had produced real, tangible results. It assisted in attacking some of the basic problems of this area and did that by cooperative means so that each nation which had contributed but not received assistance, acquired some benefits, even if those were not so concrete nor tangible in the material sense.

Noting that Indonesia's greatest achievement was that it survived, President Sukarno went on to say that historically the most important feature of a newly re-won independence was that it released vast new potentials in any nation. Indonesia had made great progress in almost every field of human and mental endeavour, he said and added that in ending the servitude of colonialism the Indonesian nation entered into a great period of growth, physically, mentally and spiritually. President Sukarno pointed out that while the Colombo Plan was concerned with economic development, Indonesia was engaged in overall development involving all fields of human endeavour and human potential, which were interdependent and essential. Any scheme of pure economic development, President Sukarno said, could be more of an irritant in the body-politic and the social organization of a nation unless such a scheme fitted into its social, political and cultural context. Indonesia had already a firm and deep-rooted foundation of cooperation, mutual assistance and the interdependence of man on man which formed the essence of our social life. He stated that upon this foundation a superstructure of social activities and cultural expression had been erected which, of course, was capable of change, development and growth.

The President said that the Indonesian people would not destroy their social foundations as some nations had considered necessary. In the framework of the principle of guided economy, Indonesia is not based on a money economy nor on a large-scale capital system. It is based on the exchange of goods and cooperation. He concluded that schemes such as the Colombo Plan could indeed help by teaching Indonesia to avoid the errors and the "cul-de-sacs" which trapped others, and the short cuts and the acquired knowledge of techniques so long as they followed the basic pattern Indonesia had laid down for its development.

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STARVATION IN ASIA MAY BE MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN A-BOMB

Asia's hungry millions might prove to be a more destructive force than the atomic bomb, Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Subandrio told the closing session of the Colombo Plan Conference in Jogjakarta November 14.

The members of the Colombo Plan, he said, realized this and recognized their responsibility for establishing stability in the still-developing countries of Asia. These countries, he reminded the conference consists of three-fourths of the world's population.

All countries in this area are still in a revolutionary stage, the Foreign Minister declared, a revolution which aims to end the "great disparity" between the living standards of Asian countries and the developed Western nations.

Dr. Subandrio listed some of the results of the conference as follows:

1. Australia's announced intention to donate another 100 buses to Indonesia;
2. The acceptance of Singapore as a full member of the Colombo Plan which increases the prestige of the association in the eyes of the world and adds strength to it;
3. The decision to continue the Colombo Plan for another five years which proves the desire among its members for continued cooperation.

* * * *

PRESIDENT SUKARNO AND ADVISORY COUNCIL AGREE
ON POLITICAL MANIFESTO

President Sukarno and the Provisional Supreme Advisory Council are in agreement on the adoption of the Political Manifesto of August 17, as issued by the President and revised by the Council, it was reported by the Council's Vice-Chairman, Mr. Ruslan Abdulgani.

The Manifesto will now become the basic document outlining the country's objectives in the political field. Mr. Abdulgani said that discussions of the Manifesto were based on scientific considerations and revolutionary political experience. He added that the document would become the object of study for Government agencies, popular organizations, political parties and would be taught in secondary and high schools.

The Indonesian Political Manifesto was outlined in the speech made by President Sukarno on August 17, marking Indonesia's 14th year of independence. It estimates the present stage of development of Indonesian society and the Indonesian revolution and sketches the tasks that lie immediately ahead in connection with national consolidation and development.

* * * *

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PLANS BEING FORMULATED FOR VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

A large-scale village development plan, coordinating the work of all government departments, is now being formulated for Indonesia, Deputy Minister of Transmigration Achmadi revealed. He stressed the importance of the plan by pointing out that 85 per cent of all Indonesians still live in villages.

With the aid of a Ford Foundation grant, he said, the Village Community Development Bureau has assigned a commission to do the needed research and experimental work out of which a common pattern for compatible development projects in line with village custom and tradition.

In formulating plans for village development, the Deputy Minister said, it is stipulated that these plans must be in conformity with the 1945 Constitution provisions that the State must be built along socialistic lines as adapted to the specific conditions of Indonesia.

* * * *

INDONESIA OFFERS SCHOLARSHIPS UNDER COLOMBO PLAN

The Indonesian Government has offered to the Colombo Plan countries not less than 40 scholarships for the 1960-1961 academic year. These include a number of scholarships for general purposes -- post-graduate and research studies at the request of the recipient country; four special scholarships in the field of agricultural estates, including a 10-month course in tea cultivation, a two-months study at an experimental rubber estate, a one-year study in the field of coffee estates and a two-year scholarship in sugar chemistry at the State Sugar College in Jogjakarta; six special scholarships in the industrial field, such as the production of vegetable oil, as well as courses in starch processing.

In addition, Indonesia is offering a number of special scholarships for the study of mass communications.

* * * *

PRESIDENT EXPLAINS GOAL OF GUIDED ECONOMY AND ROLE OF PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN

In a special message to the National Industrial Conference held last week, President Sukarno explained Indonesia's objectives under the guided economy system and indicated the role to be played in it by private businessmen.

In implementing the guided economy system, the message, read to 200 delegates, declared the following aims are pursued:

1. Paving the way for socialism in the Indonesian way, introducing happiness and social justice;

3. Curbing and eliminating characteristics of the liberal, colonial economic system that is detrimental to the general public; such as monopoly,

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speculation, price manipulations, the "idjon" system -- crops loans through which the lender gets control of the entire crop of the borrower at greatly reduced prices;

3. Guranateeing leadership and guidance by the Government in the build up of a united state economy in all fields, directed at positive planned development to be attained gradually;

4. Making all Dutch enterprises state capital through nationalization, as well as developing trade, industry, mining, communications etc., that will not be left in private hands;

Within this framework, the message said, there was room for private businessmen to play a role in fulfilling primary public needs on a short-term basis.

Capital for development activities will be used from any source, citizen or alien, the Presidential message said, and be welcome so long as these funds and forces gave priority to public interest and national development and security.

* * * *

U.S. SEVENTH FLEET COMMANDER VISITS DJAKARTA

The Commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, Vice Admiral Frederick N. Kivette paid an official visit to Indonesia earlier this month.

The U.S. Seventh Fleet Flagship, the St. Paul, remained in the harbor of Tandjung Priok from November 2 to November 5, and the Vice Admiral paid courtesy calls on President Sukarno and other Indonesian leaders.

Meanwhile a group of four United States Senators visited Indonesia this week as guests of the Speaker of Parliament Dr. Sartono. The Senators will also visit Jogjakarta and Bali.

* * * *

INDONESIAN OVERSEAS CHINESE ACT COUNTER TO PRINCIPLES OF CHINA

Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio on November 17 defended the Government's decision to ban foreign retailers in Indonesian rural areas and charged that overseas Chinese in the country acted against the principles of the Chinese People's Republic.

Most foreign retailers in Indonesia are Chinese who were not progressive and did not strive towards socialism as is the case with People's China. Instead, the Foreign Minister declared, Indonesia's Chinese businessmen who have refused to declare themselves citizens of Indonesia are committed to capitalism.

Dr. Subandrio denied a report in a foreign magazine, to the effect that he had been insulted by the authorities of the Chinese People's Republic

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when he visited that country recently. The report, he said, was completely unfounded, since he and the Chinese officials had settled the overseas Chinese question without in any way lessening the ties of friendship between Indonesia and the Chinese People's Republic.

The Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia, Huang Chen, Dr. Subandrio disclosed, has offered his assistance to the Indonesian Government in implementing its decision to ban foreign retailers in villages.

* * * *

GOVERNMENT DENIES INFILTRATING DUTCH-OCCUPIED WEST IRIAN

The Spokesman of the Indonesian Foreign Office has denied Dutch reports to the effect that Indonesia was infiltrating persons from its West Irian province into Dutch-occupied West Irian. He said further that such charges as have been appearing in the Dutch press were aimed at "arousing popular sentiment."

"If the people of West Irian launch any actions against Dutch colonial regime," the spokesman told the reporters. "the Indonesian Government always gets the blame for engineering them."

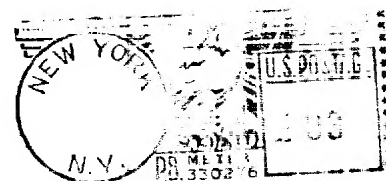
He added that the people of West Irian are Indonesians and not Dutchmen and advised the Netherlands colonisers to remember this fact. Of course, he went on, the struggle of the West Irian people is closely linked with that of the entire Indonesian people.

The Foreign Office Spokesman predicted that the Dutch would fail in their attempts to separate "the people of West Irian from their brothers living in the other territories of Indonesia."

It is the Dutch who are the infiltrators, he declared, and charged their infiltration constitutes an aggression against the Republic of Indonesia.

* * * *

REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
Delegation to the United Nations
5 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.



CIA - Top 64

Mr. Allen Dulles
Civil Intelligence Agency
State Department
Washington 25, DC

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11-6874

14 AUG 1959

Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge *Lodge*
United States Representative to the United Nations

Dear Cabot:

In further response to your request through Mr. Desmond FitzGerald of this Agency on 6 March 1959, I am sending you a paper describing the Chinese Communist hate-America campaign and documents which substantiate the existence of this campaign. These materials are in addition to the [redacted] which you requested and which I sent to you on 14 July 1959.

ILLEGIB

You will note that the attached documents were obtained from various sources. Among them are reports by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service on Radio Peking broadcasts, translations of some items from Chinese Communist publications, copies of magazines and pamphlets devoted entirely to spreading hate of America, reports [redacted] and photographs of Chinese wall posters relating to the campaign.

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With best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

SIGNED
Allan W. Dulles
Director

cc: DDGI

Signature Recommended:

[redacted]
Deputy Director (Plans)

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FE/ [] (10 August 1959)

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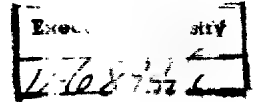
- 2 - DCI w/1 copy Paper on Chinese Communist Hate-America Campaign
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12 AUG 1959



MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Deputy Director (Plans) *[Handwritten signature]*

SUBJECT: Materials for Ambassador Lodge on Chinese Communist Hate -America Campaign

1. This memorandum recommends action by the Director of Central Intelligence regarding transmittal of materials to Ambassador Lodge on the Chinese Communist hate -America campaign. The recommendation is contained in paragraph 4 below.

2. Mr. Lodge requested these materials of CIA in a conversation on 6 March 1959 with Mr. Desmond FitzGerald. Mr. Lodge indicated that he might use the materials when the Chinese Communist representation issue is again raised in the United Nations General Assembly.

3. Attached to this memorandum are a letter addressed to Ambassador Lodge, a paper describing the Chinese Communist hate -America campaign and selected documents from various sources which substantiate the existence of the campaign.

4. It is recommended that the Director sign the letter addressed to Ambassador Lodge and permit it to be sent to him through FE Division channels, along with the attached paper and documents.

[Handwritten signature] Desmond FitzGerald
Chief, Far East Division

25X1

3 Attachments:

1. Letter to Ambassador Lodge
2. Paper on Chinese Communist Hate -America Campaign
3. Documents Pertinent to Campaign

cc: DDCI

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The Chinese Communist "Hate America" Campaign

Since the Chinese Communists established the People's Republic of China in 1949, they have been engaged in a militant and highly organized campaign to instill into 600 million Chinese people a profound and lasting hatred for the United States of America. This campaign goes on in varying degrees of intensity day after day, year after year, and reaches people in even the remotest areas of the Chinese mainland. The Chinese Communists attempt to achieve through repetition, distortion, and falsehood what they cannot achieve through reason and truth. The campaign is sometimes injected with the stimulus of a preposterous lie -- a campaign within a campaign -- such as the germ warfare accusations against the United States at the time of the Korean War, or the charge, now current, though not so well publicized outside China, that the United States is using Christianity to sabotage world peace. The campaign is not intended to present honest criticism of United States policy, and it certainly does not reflect any desire to solve international problems, reduce tensions, or bring about lasting peace. Quite the contrary.

The Chinese Communists use all means to spread their "Hate America" propaganda -- newspapers and radio, posters, discussion groups, huge rallies, songs, and military drills for men, women, and children. An Indian national who visited mainland China last fall had this to say:

"In every town the visitor is greeted at the station or in the market place or a busy thoroughfare, by a huge poster -- some 40 by 60 feet -- showing a picture of Communist China crashing America and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles ... All mass media -- press platform, radio, and the inevitable loudspeaker -- have been harnessed to din into the Chinese that America is the greatest menace to peace and prosperity. One can see films and exhibits purporting to show American interference, espionage, and subversive activities on the mainland." (Washington Post and Times Herald, 23 February 1959)

A Brazilian journalist who returned last spring from an extensive tour of Communist China reported:

"I was surprised by a great number of things--to begin with, the fantastic hate campaign that is going on. Hate against the West, hate against the United States in particular. The country is covered with thousands, millions of posters where the United States is being hanged or kicked or shown as a snake, an octopus, or a rat. This goes on over the radio, the press. It is a 24-hour nation-wide hate campaign of a size that I don't believe ever has existed --not even in Nazi Germany." (U.S. News and World Report, 15 June 1959)

An American agricultural editor who visited cities and rural areas in North China, Manchuria, and the Yangtze Valley

in September 1958, said that he was amazed at the extent as well as the intensity of the anti-U. S. program. He said that wherever he went, from the highest to the lowest levels, people were being made aware of "U. S. aggression". Although he was not taken very far from the large cities, he was impressed that factories, schools, public buildings, and farmhouses everywhere were plastered with posters denouncing the U. S. (Department of State Dispatch, Amcogen Hong Kong 334, 27 October 1958)

A Norwegian visitor to China reported that a poster on the wall of a factory reads: "Every mistake you avoid is equivalent to an American killed". (Department of State Dispatch, Amcogen Hong Kong 379, 7 November 1958)

To hate America and most of its allies is deeply rooted in Chinese Communist doctrine. In the first issue of the Chinese Communist theoretical journal, Red Flag, dated 1 June 1958, Deputy Foreign Minister Chang Wen t'ien said:

"The basic feature of our age is the existence in the world of two fundamentally opposed social economic systems; with vigorously growing socialism on the one hand, and declining and collapsing imperialism on the other." (FBI, 4 June 1958)

As Professor Richard L. Walker pointed out recently:

**"Within this two-camp view, the duty of enmity toward the United States and isolation and destruction of its power becomes an overwhelming necessity."
(The New Leader, 20 October 1958, Special Issue)**

Indeed, the preamble to the constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in 1954, makes it clear that to oppose America is an obligation of the Chinese people, prerequisite to the establishment of a socialist society. It states, in part:

"...In the past few years, our people have successfully reformed the land system, resisted the U. S. and aided Korea, suppressed the counterrevolutionaries, rehabilitated the national economy, and carried out other large scale struggles which have provided the conditions necessary for planned economic construction and the steady transition to socialism."

In implementing the "Hate America" campaign, Peking has developed a series of drives or, again, campaigns within a campaign. The propaganda lines which characterize these drives may be summarized as follows:

The United States imperialists pose an immediate military threat to China.

If every Chinese citizen becomes a soldier, United States aggression can be stopped.

The United States is a "paper tiger" with an appearance of strength but rotten inside.

**The enemies within, the counterrevolutionaries,
are agents of American imperialism.**

**The United States is using the Christian church to
further its aggressive plot against China.**

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**In attacking the United States as an immediate military
threat, the Chinese Communist propaganda machine has linked
this imminent armed aggression with exhortations to the Chinese
people to produce more. In order to exact the last ounce of
strength from the peasant, the worker, the Party cadre, it is
essential that Peking constantly maintain a state of contrived
emergency, tension, and fear among the people. Last fall,
after the Chinese Communists launched their attack on Quemoy,
Politburo member Peng Chen said:**

**"Once again we see clearly that the U. S. aggressors
have openly and completely taken over the role of Hitler
in vain attempt to attain world hegemony. They are still
striving to enslave and exploit the Chinese people and
continue to seize Chinese territory as they did in the
past. We are determined to completely smash the frenzied
criminal acts of the U. S. imperialists which are hostile
to the Chinese people, extend aggression and jeopardize
Asian and world peace; we are determined to defend our
great motherland as well as Asian and world peace."
(USIA, ORI, "Communist China's Anti-American Propa-
ganda," 1 December 1958)**

On 7 September 1958, the People's Daily carried an editorial entitled "Let Our 600 Million People Mobilize to Crush the U.S. Aggressors' Military Threats and War Provocations!" (FBI, 8 September 1958) Ta Kung Pao (Great Public News), another Chinese Communist daily newspaper, ran an editorial entitled "The Indignation of 600 Million People". It read, in part:

"We have full confidence in our ability to pulverize the war provocations of the U.S. aggressors.... We have been persistently working for easing international tensions, but we do not in the least fear the tension created by the imperialists nor are we afraid of war. The Chinese people are busily engaged in the production of 10.7 million tons of steel this year, in the speedy industrialization of their country, and in the attainment of unprecedented bumper harvests. We shall surpass the capitalist countries several times and even scores of times in the rate of construction." (FBI, 8 September 1958)

On 11 September 1958, Peking's New China News Agency (NCNA) broadcast a report that:

"The Chinese people have been incensed by the continuous, outrageous provocations carried out by the American aggressors. Their militant opposition to U.S. aggression and their determination to speed up the construction of China has been reinforced, especially since the publication of the analysis of the home and international situation made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the Supreme State Conference. In the past few days, great numbers of militia units have been set up in various parts of the country; people's communes are developing at a much quicker rate. In iron and steel and agricultural production the people are working round-the-clock with tremendous energy. The current watchword of the people all over the country is: 'We will insure the

supply of manpower, steel and feed! ' They are prepared to fight back anytime the enemy dares to attack.' (FBIS, 15 September 1958)

And on 17 September 1958, NCNA said in a round-up:

"Officers and men of the production corps of the People's Liberation Army of Sinkiang have held meetings in the fields and workshops, denouncing U.S. imperialist aggression. Su Chang-fu, a model auto driver, who covered 410,000 kilometers without major overhaul, has pledged to improve his own national record by covering 100,000 or 200,000 kilometers more. He said: 'I will crush the U.S. aggressors under the wheels of my truck'.

"Not long after they expressed their determination to back the struggle against U.S. aggression by action, the workers of the No. 2 machine building plant in Inner Mongolia turned out a steel rolling mill with an annual capacity of 30,000 tons in only 25 days, two weeks ahead of their original plan.

"A socialist construction corps, composed of demobilized men and peasants in northern Shensi, pledged that it would complete the water reservoir it is building 20 days ahead of schedule as concrete support in the struggle against U.S. war provocations. One hundred thirty-six demobilized army men who took part in a battle in which they annihilated KMT troops in the liberation war, declared: 'We are ready to wipe out the U.S. aggressors at any moment, just as we wiped out the Kuomintang troops.' (FBIS, 16 September 1958)

On 16 September 1958, the People's Daily published an article entitled "The Ugly Face of Eisenhower is Fully Exposed". one of the most senselessly vituperative statements to be issued during the hate campaign. It said:

"As an agent of U.S. monopoly capital, Dulles had become very disgusting to the small, so Eisenhower was obliged to come out in person. Eisenhower is a wolf with a whitewashed face; he was rather skillful in disguising himself without showing much of his ugly face in the open. Banking on this meager capital, he then attempted to utter nonsensical remarks to intimidate others. Contrary to his expectations, however, his attempt only exposed his depraved, belligerent face hidden behind the mask of peace. (FBIS, 16 September 1958)

By 16 September 1958, Peking's NCNA announced that:

"More than 302 million people in China demonstrated against U.S. armed provocations up to Tuesday in the biggest protest campaign in world history. This striking figure testified to the words of Chairman Mao Tse-tung that the tense situation created by the United States would mobilize the people against the American aggressors themselves. In the past ten days, the protest campaign has spread like wildfire. People of all sections and nationalities, from all walks of life and in every corner of the country, have taken part." (FBIS, 19 September 1958)

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As the huge demonstrations reached a climax, the vast Communist propaganda apparatus set in motion the "Everyone a Soldier" drive.

When the communes had been organized, provision had been made for a "people's militia" in each commune. Observers of mainland China were not impressed by the military capability of these units, but the system apparently served as a means of

regimenting the population and tightening Peking's control over the daily lives of men, women, and children.

The call for all-out mobilization was made at the Supreme State Conference on 6 September 1958. Red Flag had already heralded this campaign on 1 September when it said:

"...it is only natural...that the whole population should be citizen soldiers ready to cope with the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. Although the organization of agricultural labor along military lines at present is for waging battles against nature and not against human enemies it is nonetheless not difficult to transform one kind of struggle into another." (FBL3, 3 September 1958)

An article in the 13 September 1958, issue of People's Daily opened with the announcement:

"Stirred up by the U.S. imperialist provocations, the people of the whole country have tempestuously set in motion an "everyone a soldier" movement within the last few days, ready to fight back any time the enemy dare to attack." (Current Background, Amcengen, Hong Kong, No 530, 31 October 1958)

In conclusion, the article quoted a song, said to have been composed by peasants in Henan:

"With a hoe in the right hand and a rifle in the left
We consider the field a battleground where we use
Our hoes to attain the 10,000-catty-per-mow target.
And our rifles in training to guard the fatherland.
Should the American imperialists dare to invade,
We would definitely annihilate all of them!" (Current Background, Amcengen, Hong Kong, No. 530, 31 October 1958)

NCNA broadcast on 18 September 1958:

"Alongside their intensified military training, the masses of young people are working hard to raise iron, steel, and grain output. There are 2.5 million of them engaged in mining and metallurgy in the mountainous regions. Their slogan is 'Turn out more iron and steel to hit the American wolves hard!' They have set up 3,400 small steel plants and steel smelting furnaces and 32,000 iron smelting furnaces. In one mountain region, young iron smelters have built nearly 6,000 local type blast furnaces in two days and brought up their daily iron output to 1,400 tons." (FBIS, 19 September 1958)

As it turned out, these small furnaces were not effective as a means to industrialization, but feverish activity under the military-type discipline of the "Everyone a Soldier" movement was an effective means of regimenting millions of people. Summarizing a Red Flag article of 16 October 1958, Peking radio said:

"Under the 'everyone a soldier' program, when there is no enemy attack on us, all the people will concentrate on our socialist construction toward rural industrialization in the great communist spirit of cooperation. However, if the enemy dares to launch an attack on us, the whole nation is armed to wipe out every enemy soldier in sight." (FBIS 27 October 1958)

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On 3 May 1958, the People's Daily commented:

"The Chinese people long ago pointed out that the United States is only a paper tiger. Under the present situation when the East wind has prevailed over the West wind, it appears even more ridiculous for the United States to claim

itself as a strong power. The United States itself has reached the unfavorable situation it is facing in Asia. In a desperate effort, the United States still pretends that it is strong, like a man who slaps himself to produce swollen cheeks so that he may pass as a fat man." (FHEB, 6 May 1958)

On 31 October 1958, there appeared in the People's Daily a collection of extracts from speeches by Mao Tse-tung. The collection was entitled "The Imperialists and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers". The introductory note to this collection opens as follows:

"How to assess the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction in their true light is still a major problem in China, and in the world as well. Many people invariably fail to figure this out."

"Imperialism and its running dogs in all countries are like the sun setting in the western sky; whereas socialism and the national revolutionary movement which it supports are like the sun rising in the eastern sky."

"At present there are quite a few people who still fail to see this, who still cherish superstitions and illusions, who still stand in awe of the imperialists in general and the U.S. imperialists in particular. On this issue they still remain in a state of passivity. All progressives and all Marxists and revolutionaries must do some persuading among them so that the broad masses can have revolutionary confidence and determination, have revolutionary farsightedness and firmness. This is an indispensable spiritual condition for speeding up the triumphant advance of the revolutionary cause." (FHEB, 3 November 1958, supplement)

Thus a campaign was launched. The text accompanying the extracts from Mao's works explained that during a conversation with American journalist Anna Louise Strong in August, 1946, Mao Tse-tung expressed the "now famous viewpoint that all reactionaries are paper tigers". "In appearance", Mao said, "they are frightening; but in reality, their strength is not so great." Eleven years later, on 18 November 1957, Mao told a meeting of Party leaders from Communist countries that the strategy and tactics of dealing with this "paper tiger" was like eating a meal:

"...Strategically we can despise a meal; we can eat it. But the concrete act of eating is carried out mouthful by mouthful; you cannot in one mouthful swallow the whole feast. This is called the one by one solution, and in military literature it is called smashing the enemy one by one." (FBS, 3 November 1958, supplement)

The analogy to eating, mouthful by mouthful, is very apt, when we consider the process by which the Communists have taken over in country after country. Tibet is the most recent example.

At the Supreme State Conference on 8 September 1958, Mao resorted to yet another metaphor:

"... The Chinese territory of Taiwan, Lebanon, and all U.S. military bases on foreign territories are all nooses round the necks of the U.S. imperialists. The Americans themselves, and nobody else, made these nooses, and they themselves put them round their own necks and handed the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in these places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become." *PRIS*, 3 November 1955, supplement)

Ta Kung Pao carried an editorial on 7 February 1959, which threatened:

"... although the imperialists and reactionaries would wage a deathbed struggle and might run rampant for a while, the day of their final extinction is not far away." (*PRIS*, 9 February 1959)

The paper tiger theme has been the subject of massive wall paintings, and colorful cartoons in magazines, along with lurid cartoons depicting the U.S. hanging by its neck, the imperialists sun sinking in the west, etc. Throughout the China mainland, study groups have been held to explain Mao's paper tiger thesis to factory, office, and government workers, to housewives, to the youth. The Chinese Communists have even provided the people with a song which goes:

"American imperialism is basically a paper tiger,
Outwardly flourishing, inwardly dried up.
You're opposed by the peace-loving people,
And by the oppressed;
You've put on your own neck a noose
A hanging noose made by yourself.
Under your false tiger skin
There are numerous contradictions.
You're a mere nothing. Bah! (Washington Evening Star,
5 July 1959)

XXX

According to Communist doctrine, the people are the dictators of a Communist country. Since it would be impossible for the people to oppose their own dictatorship, any internal opposition to communism must be attributed to external enemies -- to "imperialist" instigation. Thus, Communist China's drive against counterrevolutionaries has always been tied in with anti-imperialism and anti-Americanism. In 1952, after three years of mass executions of those who were believed to offer even potential opposition to the regime, Minister of Public Security Lo Jui-ch'ing stated that considerable success had been achieved in the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. But he said that as long as United States imperialism existed in Asia there would be "remnant counterrevolutionaries" acting as agents of the United States. He thereby issued advance warning that the regime would

brook no opposition in the future and that United States imperialism would be held up as the motivating force behind all opposition.

On 11 May 1959, Lo Jui-ch'ing reported:

"...In our country, the remnant forces of counter-revolution have been basically wiped out...

"However, the basic wiping out of the remnant forces of counterrevolution does not imply complete elimination of them. There will still be counterrevolution and struggle against counterrevolution.

"...Even after the enemies at home have been wiped out, there will still remain the enemies abroad. The struggle between imperialist secret agents and spies and us is still very intense and acute.

"...Although counterrevolutionaries are diminishing in number, weakening in strength, and becoming increasingly more isolated, we must not slacken efforts in struggling against the small number of counterrevolutionaries carrying out active sabotage, secret agents and spies dispatched by imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek bloc, and counter-revolutionaries carrying out harassing and rebellious activities in some frontier regions."

(Extracts from China Mainland Magazines, Amcongen, Hong Kong, No. 177, 20 July 1959)

XXX

On 16 September 1958, Red Flag commented:

"The history of modern Sino-American relations is a record of American imperialists dreaming to dominate China." (FBIS, 15 September 1958)

Such a history of Sino-American relations never existed until the Chinese Communists rewrote history. For years, the Chinese

and the Americans cherished mutual intellectual, religious, scientific, and economic ties. The Chinese Communists have committed themselves to severing these ties. By discrediting all institutions introduced by the West, the Communist regime hopes to convince the Chinese people that former standards and beliefs have proven to be in error, that former friends have proven to be untrustworthy, and that there is nowhere to turn except to communism. They must "surrender their hearts to the Party", as the slogan goes.

One example which illustrates the nature of this complete severance of American ties was reported by the Indian visitor to China mentioned previously. He observed:

"Various American campuses have been renamed and the American-educated Chinese staff has been de-Americanized. After going round in Tsing Hua University in Peking I asked whether this was the campus run with the Boxer Indemnity Fund. I was told that only a paltry few thousand dollars had been spent on the campus in the past, but that this was just as well as Tsing Hua trained only "Lackeys of American imperialism". (Washington Post and Times Herald, 23 February 1959)

Such campaigns as the remolding of intellectuals and the rectification drives have served to terrorize the mainland Chinese into rejecting any institutions or ideas which might be construed as being influenced by Western and, particularly, American traditions.

The most devastating Communist attacks on Western institutions have been reserved for the Christian church. Foreign missionaries came under attack at the outset of Communist rule in Peking. Under torture, many were forced to "confess" that they had been spies. They were accused of fantastic atrocities against the Chinese people and suffered untold humiliation. They were driven from the mainland, and the Chinese who had refused to join in their denigration suffered punishment. Ridding the country of foreign missionaries, however, did not destroy the harvest of their many years of selfless service to the Chinese people, nor could it induce the Chinese Christians to renounce their faith. The Communist attacks on Christianity have therefore continued without cease. T'ien Feng (Heavenly Wind), a Chinese Communist periodical devoted to propagandizing religious groups, in February 1958 quoted a speech made at the 10th Committee Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement.* The speech, entitled "On the Use of Christianity by Imperialism", included the following example of the Chinese Communist approach to history:

"From 1867 up to the time of China's liberation, the imperialists had been acting in an overbearing and tyrannous

* Self-propagation, self-financing, self-rule

manner in China and Western missionaries had also, almost without exception, become the criminal accomplices of the imperialists in their aggression against China. These missionaries enjoyed the special privileges accorded them by the unequal treaties and the protection of their own countries' warships; they instigated many lawsuits thereby forcing China to relinquish its territories and thereby pay indemnities; they installed secret radio stations and went deep into the interior of our nation collecting intelligence; the schools and hospitals which they had established and the small favors which they had shown to individual Chinese Christians were all designed to subject the Chinese people to slavery, to intoxicate them, and drive a wedge between them. Their chief goal was the same; to place the Chinese people forever under the control of the imperialists as their slaves and deprive them of their free and happy lives." (U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, (JPRS) 1279-P, 26 February 1959)

Insidiously, the Chinese Communists are now using the Catholic and Protestant churches to bring about their own doom. Christians must first be Communists; Communists are atheists. Marxism-Leninism is being preached in the churches. Catholic have been cut off from Rome. Protestant denominations are being forced to unite in order that they may better be controlled. Ministers and priests must spend all their time working in the fields and factories to further "socialist construction". Financial aid is denied the churches, and church buildings are being put to non-religious uses. An article in T'ien Feng on 14 July 1958 said

"After liberation, the Chinese people have driven out the imperialists. The churches, through the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, have resolutely cut off financial and personnel relations with the imperialists. Through years of unintermittent efforts to eliminate the remaining ideological poisons left by the imperialists, the churches have scored great results. But we must not be satisfied with what we have achieved." (JPRS: 1395-N, 25 March 1959)

Not satisfied with what they had achieved, the Chinese Communists gave attention to the problem of Christianity at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress last April. In a speech entitled, "Exposing the New Conspiracy of U. S. Imperialism in Utilizing Christianity to Carry Out Aggressive Activities", Wu Yao-tsung, National People's Congress Deputy, said:

"... Judging by the international situation as a whole, and the fact that the socialist camp is in the ascendant, while the imperialist camp is like the setting sun, it is obvious that the prevalence of the East wind over the West wind has come to stay. All this has enabled our people to forge ahead in big strides with redoubled confidence, and provided the good-intentioned people all over the world with a cause of joy for our achievements.

"On the other hand, confronted by their historical destiny of destruction, the U.S. imperialists have become even more frantic, and are using all means and grabbing at everything they can lay their hands on to wage their last struggle. Because of this, I consider it necessary to expose here the new plot of using Christianity to oppress new China and to sabotage world peace which U.S. imperialism has put into application today." (Current Background, Amoyang Hong Kong, No. 582, 1959)

The speech attacked U.S. church leaders and organizations, particularly the American Council of Christian Churches. It attacked the British Council of Christian Churches and the Anglican Church. It attacked the World Council of Christian Churches. It defended the Communist "transformation" of Christian churches in China. It concluded:

"From the facts revealed above, it is very clear that U.S. imperialism is going to make intensive use of Christianity today to carry out her new plot of aggression. The Christian followers in China can never tolerate U.S. imperialism to make use of Christianity for the sabotage of new China, the national independence movement in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, and world peace, thus contaminating the Christian Church. We must closely unite as one people throughout the country, follow the road to socialism under the leadership of the Party, intensify our self-remolding, press on penetratingly with the patriotic movement of making our churches implement the principles of self-propagation, self-financing, and self-rule, and make our strength felt in the struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism for the defense of world peace."

Documents Attached

Daily Report - Far East, Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), 6 May 1958, 4 June 1958, 5, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19 September 1958, 27 October 1958, 9 February 1959 (extracts).

"The Imperialists and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers", Daily Report - Far East, Supplement, FBIS, 3 November 1958.

Current Background, Amcungen, Hong Kong, No. 530, 1958; No. 582, 1959 (extracts).

Extracts from China Mainland Magazines, Amcungen, Hong Kong, No. 177, 1959 (extracts).

"Articles on Christian Activity in Communist China from T'ien Feng", U.S. Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) No. 1279-N, 26 February 1959.

"Articles on Chinese Christian Activities from T'ien Feng", No. 8 and 13, 1958", JPRS No. 1395-N, 25 March 1959.

"The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China", Supplement to People's China, 1 July 1954 (extract).

China News Analysis, Hong Kong, 21 November 1958 (extract).

"Communist China's Anti-American Propaganda", United States Information Agency (USIA), Office of Research and Intelligence (ORI), 1 December 1958.

"American Agricultural Editor Visits China Mainland", Foreign Service Dispatch, Amcungen, Hong Kong, No. 338, 27 October 1958 (Confidential).

"Interview with Economic Officer of the Norwegian Embassy, Peking", Foreign Service Dispatch, Amcungen, Hong Kong, No. 379, 7 November 1958 (Confidential).

Washington Post and Times Herald clipping, 23 February 1959.

Washington Evening Star clipping, 5 July 1959.

Walker, Richard L., "Communist China: Power and Prospects", The New Leader, Special Issue, 20 October 1958.

"I Saw Red China from the Inside", Interview with Louis Winitzer, U.S. News and World Report, 15 June 1959.

Eight photographs of anti-American propaganda posters. Communist China, April 1959.

Two Chinese Communist propaganda pamphlets and two issues of a Chinese Communist cartoon magazine.

30 July 1959

can be
The Honorable Robert A. Lovett
59 Wall Street
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

In connection with my letter to you of 27 July, I believe that I have now run down the incident to which Dean Acheson referred.

Apparently about noon on 6 December 1950, Air Force Headquarters in Washington was notified by the Air Defense Command in Gander and some points in Labrador that a large flight of unidentified bombers was crossing the southern tip of Greenland. Air Force Headquarters intelligence speedily alerted the top echelons of government. However, within half an hour a false alarm was declared when the flight of bombers was identified as geese.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

AWD/ji

1 - DCI

—1 - ER

P.S. Since dictating this letter last night, I received today your good letter of July 30, with a far more detailed and authoritative description of the episode. Maybe after all they were "geese."

SIGNED

A. W. D.

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE)

SECRET

11-6504

28 JUL 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Executive Secretary
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Third Report to the President by the
President's Board of Consultants on
Foreign Intelligence Activities,
dated 30 October 1958

REFERENCES: (a) Memorandum from DCI to ES/NSC,
same subject, dated 16 February 1959
(b) Memorandum from ES/NSC to DCI,
same subject, dated 3 March 1959

1. In reference (a) I commented on Recommendation 3 of the Third Report of the President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities. I noted that a new Deputy Director of the Plans Group had just recently been appointed and was reviewing the mission and organization of that unit and suggested that a report on the results of this review be submitted on 30 June 1959. My suggestion was accepted and I now submit the following report as directed by the President.

2. A number of organizational changes have taken place within the DD/P since my last report and others are under active consideration. The main objective of these changes is to improve the efficiency of the Clandestine Services.

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The Inspection and Review Staff, DD/P, has been abolished and the Inspector General of CIA is now solely responsible for the comprehensive review of Clandestine Services activities and operations, reporting directly to me. Other organizational changes under consideration include

(EXECUTIVE SECRETARY THE NSC)

SECRET

the possible creation within DD/P of an Operations Staff and the realignment of the functions and structure of the present senior staffs. This change would provide a central point for the over-all control and direction of all operations, eliminate certain unprofitable monitoring of details by the staffs and result in a saving of personnel.

3. The planning system within the DD/P has been recently revised so that a greater distinction is made between operational planning directives and budgetary estimates. The revised system calls for an initial DD/P operational plan containing guidance and direction for the operating divisions and staffs for the forthcoming fiscal year. From this the divisions and staffs can prepare their more detailed Operational Programs which go forward for review and approval by the Project Review Committee. The budget and fiscal requirements are generated as a by-product of these Operational Programs. Finally, Related Mission Directives, also based on the Operational Plan and Programs, set forth more precise and realistic objectives and tasks for each field station.

4. In addition to the above, the review of the DD/P organization and mission has highlighted the following aspects of its work which need and will receive further study:

a. the Agency's growing workload in carrying out the Director's responsibility for the coordination of U. S. clandestine activities abroad;

b. delegation of more authority to the field;

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d. refinements in what we are reporting and how we are reporting it;

e. greater reliance on over-all country programs in the control and management of our operations as opposed to the present system of projects;

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1. increased records mechanization.

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5. In conclusion I should like to note that I have initiated a program for greater efficiency within the Agency as a whole in order to ensure a continuing effort to improve its organization and methods of operation. This program and other aspects of The Board's Third Report were discussed at the meeting of The Board on 17 July 1959.

SIGNED

ALLAN W. DULLES
Director

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30 Jun 59

2 Jul 59

28 Jul 59

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27 July 1959

card
The Honorable Robert A. Lovett
59 Wall Street
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

I enclose a clipping from the "Evening Star" of July 21, 1959, regarding a statement by Dean Acheson on the "1950 Soviet War Scare". I have tried to run down this story here in Washington and I have not been able to get the facts. I imagine you are the only one who can speak authoritatively about it.

In view of our great interest in the whole case of timely alert, both historically and more important for the future, I would be most interested to know whether you recall the incident and what if anything happened at that time.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

AWD:enclosure
1 - DCI
1 - ER

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4 JUN 1959

His Excellency
Sir Claude Corbin
Permanent Delegate and Ambassador
of Ceylon
United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I deeply appreciate your words of sympathy and
your expression of appreciation for my brother.

It was thoughtful of you to let me know of your
feelings and I thank you for your message.

Sincerely,

WED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI/ [] :dd 3 June 59

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Call
The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
United States Representative
to the United Nations
Two Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Cabot:

I had already pulled together some sample copies of
letters [redacted] before I received your letter of
2 March.

STAT

I plan to hand these to you at the Cabinet Meeting o
Friday, 6 March, and at that time will discuss the program
we have in mind for their exploitation. I am also arranging to
have copies of additional letters furnished you as they are
received.

Faithfully yours,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

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Attachments - orig only.

O/DCI/ [redacted] b1p 5 Mar 59

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*To be handcarried by
Mr. Fitzgerald, 28/20/P.
6 Mar 59.*

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